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RR RUHMR
DE RUS80D 5531 1340235
ZNY SSSSS ZZH
R 140230Z MAY 79
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 2951
INFO RUHQHQA/CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
RUSMAAA/USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE
RUHJPR/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 496
RUHGRA/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 728
RUSBLK/AMEMBASSY KASUL 9201
RUSBRK/AMCONSUL KARACHI 7943
ZEM/AMCONSUL LAHORE POUCH
RUOTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 3966
RUEHMC/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1318
RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 787
ZEM/AMCONSUL PESHAWAR
RUHMR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 5207
RUMHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 609

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SECRET ISLAMABAD 5531

L.O. 12065: GDS 12/5/85 (SHERMAN, RICK) OR-P
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, PK, AF
SUBJECT: (C) GAILANI REPRESENTATIVE REPORTS PROGRESS IN UNIFYING
AFGHAN DISSIDENT GROUPS

REF: ISLAMABAD 4788

1. (C) ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: HUMAYUN ASEFI, AFGHAN ATTORNEY FROM PARIS
WHO ACCOMPANIED SYED AHMED GAILANI TO EMBASSY ON APRIL
21 (REFTEL), CALLED ON EMBOFF MAY 13 WITH UP-DATE ON
PROGRESS IN FORGING UNITY AMONG PESHAWAR-BASED GROUPS.
ASEFI ALSO ADVISED OF SUCCESSES IN FIGHTING BETWEEN
DISSIDENT FORCES AND DRA TROOPS. HE LEFT WITH US PARTS HE
ALLIGED WERE TAKEN FROM MIG-21 AIRCRAFT DOWNED BY
DISSIDENT FORCES IN LATE APRIL. END SUMMARY.

3. ASEFI, WHO HAS BEEN TRAVELING THROUGHOUT PAKISTAN SINCE PREVIOUS VISIT TO EMBASSY IN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH UNITY OF DISSIDENT MOVEMENT, SAYS "MEANINGFUL ASSOCIATION" OF THREE GROUPS (ANLF, GAILANI GROUP, AND KHAN GUL JAN GROUP) IS NOW 90 PERCENT ASSURED AND SHOULD BE ANNOUNCED BY MAY 18. THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SIGNED BY LEADERS OF THREE ORGANIZATIONS IN PESHAWAR AND WILL BE ANNOUNCED TO PRESS "THROUGHOUT THE WORLD", ASEFI SAYS. THE ASSOCIATION WILL INCLUDE COMMAND COORDINATION IN FIELD OPERATIONS AND COOPERATION AT TOP LEVELS IN PESHAWAR.

4. ASEFI HAS ALSO ARRANGED FOR EXPATRIATE AFGHAN BUSINESSMEN TO SPONSOR A RADIO STATION WHICH WILL BE PURCHASED IN EUROPE AND SET UP IN VAZIRISTAN UNDER DIRECTION OF UNIFIED GROUPS COMMITTEE. ASEFI REPORTEDLY TOLD HIS COUSIN, GOP FOWSEC SHAHNAWAZ, OF HIS INTENTIONS AND ASKED PERMISSION TO IMPORT RADIO EQUIPMENT. ASEFI DID NOT REPORT FOWSEC APPROVAL; RATHER, SHAHNAWAZ "DID NOT TELL ME TO STOP THE PROCESS," ASEFI SAID.

5. ASEFI SAYS MAJOR TRIBAL GROUPS OF AFGHANISTAN HAVE RECENTLY BECOME MORE ACTIVE IN SUPPORTING REBEL ACTIVITIES. VAZIRS HAVE ACTIVELY JOINED FIGHT AS OF MAY 11 AND MENGALS, TAJIKS, UZBEKS, AND AFRIDIS HAVE ALL AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO DO SO BUT LACK ORGANIZATION TO COORDINATE THEIR PEOPLE'S EFFORTS. ANOTHER FACTOR CAUSING SOME HESITATION ON PART OF THOSE ETHNIC/TRIBAL GROUPS IS LACK OF ANY LEADER OF "NATIONAL" STATURE WITH WHOM THEY CAN IDENTIFY. ASEFI HAS LETTER ALLEGEDLY SIGNED BY ALL THESE GROUPS ADDRESSED TO KING ZAKER SHAN APPEALING FOR HIS RETURN, OR THAT OF ABDUL WALI, TO REPRESENT RALLYING POINT FOR DISSIDENT ACTIVITIES. LETTER MAKES CLEAR TO KING, ACCORDING TO ASEFI, THAT RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF MONARCHY NOT, RPT NOT, INTENT OF THE GROUPS. ROYAL PERSONAGE WOULD BE FIGUREHEAD RATHER THAN RULING MONARCH.

5. ASEFI SAID HE HAS ASKED FOMSEC SHAHNAWAZ ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF ZAKER SHAH'S OR ABDEL WALI'S BEING PERMITTED TO ESTABLISH A BASE IN PAKISTAN. SHAHNAWAZ' RESPONSE WAS "PERHAPS A LITTLE LATER, BUT NOT NOW." SHAHNAWAZ ALLEGEDLY TOLD ASEFI THAT SOVIETS HAVE MADE DEMARCH AT KFA OPPOSING GOP'S PERMITTING AFGHAN ROYAL FAMILY TO TAKE UP RESIDENCE HERE.

6. WHEN ASKED ABOUT FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENT GROUPS ASEFI SAID THE PRC, UAE, AND SAUDIS HAVE ALL PROMISED ASSISTANCE BUT HAVE YET TO DELIVER. AS SOON AS COMMUNIQUE OF ASSOCIATION OF GROUPS IS ISSUED, ASEFI PLANS TO VISIT UAE AND SAUDI ARABIA TO FOLLOW-UP PROMISES. HE THEN PLANS TO RETURN TO PARIS VIA ROME TO DELIVER APPEALS TO ZAKER SHAH AND ABDEL WALI. THERE IS POSSIBILITY HE MAY BE ABLE ALSO TO ARRANGE STOP IN IRAN, AS HAZARA COMMUNITY IN PAKISTAN HAS OFFERED PUT HIM IN TOUCH WITH AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI TO ELICIT ASSISTANCE FROM THAT QUARTER.

7. ASEFI SAYS GROUPS IN PESHAWAR TEND TO DOUBT SOVIETS WOULD, IN ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, OCCUPY AFGHANISTAN TO SAVE KHALQI GOVERNMENT. HE SAYS FIRST MOVE AFTER UNIFYING MAJOR GROUPS WILL BE TO CONTACT SOVIETS ON SOME NEUTRAL "TERRITORY" AND ESTABLISH RELATIONSHIP BASED ON REALITIES OF THE SITUATION, I.E. THAT NO REGIME IN KABUL CAN EXIST WITHOUT GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. THESE INTENTIONS CANNOT BE MENTIONED AT THIS TIME, ASEFI CONTENTS, OR THE SUPER-RELIGIOUS WOULD MISUNDERSTAND AND UNITY WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE.

8. PURPORTEDLY REFLECTING VIEWS OF SYED AHMED GAILANI AND OTHER LEADERS IN PESHAWAR AREA, ASEFI WARNED ENBOFF THAT ANCI ZIA MASSERY IS "PROBABLY A DOUBLE AGENT." ASEFI CLAIMS ZIA MASSERY MET WITH KAFIZULLAH AMIN AT UN LAST YEAR SHORTLY THEREAFTER VISITED KABUL. HE THEN APPEARED IN PESHAWAR AND ALLIED HIMSELF WITH GAILANI AFTER BEING REPELSED AMF LEADER, ROJEDEDI. GAILANI NOW REGRETS BEFRIENDING ZIA MASSERY AND WANTS IT UNDER STOOD THERE IS NO RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIM AND THE AMERICAN, ACCORDING TO ASEFI.

9. ASEFI REPORTED THAT DISSIDENT FORCES HAVE NOT SHOT DOWN THREE DRA MIG AIRCRAFT. THE FIRST AT VOZA IN THE ZADRAN AREA OF PAKTIA ON APRIL 25; THE SECOND NEAR PACHAR OGAN (SIC) VILLAGE PAKTIA; AND THE LATEST, ON MAY 9 NEAR KHONST IN PAKTIA. HE DID NOT SPECIFY HOW AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN SHOT DOWN BUT LEFT WITH ENBOFF--ON LOAN-- SEVERAL REMNANTS OF THE AIRCRAFT, INCLUDING FIVE MARKINGS PLATES TORN OFF THE FIRST MIG, AS WELL AS PHOTOS OF THE AIRCRAFT. COPIES BEING POUCHED TO LONGFETIG C/O INR/RNA/SGA FOR INTERESTED WASHINGTON CONSUMERS.

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